

MILLER LEADS SMITH AS LAST WEEK OPENS

Advantage Is One of Pure
Organization Strength in
a Republican State.

UPSET NOT APPARENT

Governor's Party Needs
Rural Vote; Lacks Money
to Get It Out.

WET ISSUE STILL SMALL

Decline in Registration Fails
to Hurt Either Side—Cassidy
Heads United Radicals.

The State campaign rests on dead center as Gov. Miller and Alfred E. Smith close their upstate campaign and start for New York city for the hard fight of the windup week. The contest is yet to be won or lost. A fair sized political wave will tip the ship of state either way.

If there is an advantage it is almost too slight to be discernible. Both sides are frightened badly. The Democrats are afraid of their own situation in the metropolis and hopeful of what may happen upstate.

The Republicans are afraid of what is happening upstate and, strangely enough, seem more confident than would be expected that their candidate is gaining in the city.

With organization defections about equal on both sides and offsetting each other, the women in New York and upstate balancing their votes, radicalism petering out as an issue, the public dull and indifferent and still looking for the campaign thrill which hasn't arrived yet, it simmers down to a simple party machine contest.

On that basis the G. O. P. of this State has an unquestionable advantage, as this is normally a Republican State.

Republicans Have Advantage.

If a break does not come, if there are no bombs set off or unforeseen last minute stampedes, the Republicans should be able on the face of things to push over their ticket by the advantage of organization strength.

Republicans believe Gov. Miller has a little better than held his own up State. He has wasted off the Smith offensive and made the Democratic nominee answer as many questions as he has asked.

Smith has put on a rather better show up State than the Governor and has attracted more crowds, but politicians know that crowds do not count in elections. The popularity of "Al" seems to have been waning a little north of the Harlem. The voters have grown to like the dignified Miller and his dignified campaign as being quite as appropriate to the State capital as the "good fellow" man. Smith has not made the dent expected up State.

Both Sides Figure Closely.

Republicans are saying that Smith will have 250,000—not more than 275,000—plurality in New York. Democrats are saying that Miller will have 250,000 up State. The Republican managers say they will have 350,000 up State and the Democratic managers are positive of 250,000 as a minimum in New York. That is how closely they are figuring.

Assuming that the public indifference evident on both sides up to date prevails to the finish and that the sensational broad—something like the Tam, Tamman and Rebellion outburst or the Malbone street tunnel disaster—doesn't upset the campaign, it appears self evident that the overwhelming rural Republican vote will swamp Smith's plurality here if that rural vote can be dragged to the polls.

That is the big IF in the campaign. It probably will decide the election—the most important in the entire nation this autumn, the election which may have a direct and important bearing on the Presidential campaign in 1924.

If the rural voter can be persuaded to stop plowing and picking up potatoes on election day; if his apathy is not solidified to the point that it cannot be broken, the up-State Republican organization ought to roll up the 250,000 to 300,000 votes which may be enough to decide.

Lack of Money Up State.

It takes money to get out that rural vote, much more money than to get out the Smith vote in New York, where the polling places are just around the corner and it doesn't mean a day's loss of time for the boss and the hired man to ballot.

The Republican organization has not the money to hire all the automobiles and wagons, drivers and workers needed to comb through the countryside for the industrious farmer who thinks more of the crops than of the ballot box. But as the danger grows imminent, it is believed the campaign fund will grow until by the end of the week there will be enough to supply the equipment needed.

Knowing the organization's legitimate needs for funds up State, the Democrats are putting out the usual cry that a great fund is being raised to buy the election for Gov. Miller. That absurd charge was sponsored by Mayor Hylan, but on the way so of Tammany.

Every one in politics knows the statement is untrue, but it is dusted off and pushed into the show window every campaign. There isn't any more truth in it than in an equally absurd charge that Mr. Smith has stood sponsor for widespread colonizing of gunmen and repeaters in New York. Every one who knows politics and Mr. Smith knows that he would be the first to denounce such a practice.

The rural vote is always the last counted on election night. It means miles of traveling some—no to get one district's results together. And for that reason it is not impossible that this will be another of those election nights on which the Democratic nominee, getting the better of the break in the cities, will win up to about 10 o'clock at night and then slowly drop behind. That depends entirely on how efficient the G. O. P. is in Cayuga, Essex and the other sixty counties.

To the surprise of both sides the wet issue has not proved much of a factor to date. It is little better than an even break. This State, including the rural districts, is dry by a substantial ma-

jority. The cities are wet in spots, but on the whole the drys would seem to have it in this campaign.

The Democratic beer and light wine plank has drawn considerable support to Mr. Smith in some of the cities. It accounts for his strength in Syracuse, which has gone wet in a hard municipal battle; in Troy, Albany, Schenectady and a few other centers where the factory population predominates and where the workers resent not having their beer.

But it has cut into the Democratic following in scores of little hamlets where the folk about the saloon and picture Smith in cahoots with the brewery ring, with Tammany and Charles F. Murphy trying to force rum into the home to blight the youth of the State. They talk about Tammany and whiskey up State much the same as Hylan talks about the traction ring and the bugaboo "interests" here.

Cassidy Gets Radical Strength.

To the extent that radicalism is at all an issue it has hurt Mr. Smith. The workers whose tendencies are Bolshevik are not satisfied with Smith. They regard him as little less conservative than Miller. It would be expected that naturally the radical vote would go to Smith as a blow at Miller. But apparently it is not. It is going to Cassidy, the Farmer-Labor-Socialist nominee.

There are many wise politicians who are predicting that the Cassidy vote will be the surprise of the campaign. They are forecasting a 300,000 to 350,000 vote for him in the State. The Socialist vote in the 1920 election was 159,894, the Farmer-Labor party had 65,908 and the Socialist Laborites 5,015, totaling 234,727.

For the first time since the prewar days the radical parties are united this year. There is something back of their organization that is not accidental.

William R. Hearst has been giving Cassidy and the radicals almost as much support as he has Smith and the Democrats. Politicians estimate that Cassidy will pull little strength from Miller. There is little doubt that if Cassidy were not making his double fisted attacks on the two old line parties many thousands of voters who are with him would drift naturally to Smith as the only avenue of protest. These voters are not for Cassidy particularly—they are against the established government. It is possible that from 50,000 to 100,000 votes in this State labeled progressive or radical, which might have gone to Smith in normal conditions in a contest between the two parties, which are both conservative, will go to Cassidy. And further, it is possible if not probable that the election will be won or lost by less than a 50,000 plurality.

Show Miller Stronger.

Several canvasses have been made in the last two or three days in the metropolitan district in an effort to observe how the strawman is operating. The Tammany leaders never reveal the result of their secret polls. The Republican district leaders have reported that Miller is stronger than two years ago; that he has been picking up here and there, growing stronger slowly but steadily.

The Jewish vote will go in larger numbers to Mr. Miller than two years ago, the canvasses indicate. No one has accounted for the reason in this trend. The general belief that the Governor is fair, stands on his own feet, is giving the State a better business administration than Tammany ever gave anything and that the Governor is a man of exceptional ability are the arguments which are supposed to have attracted the Jewish mind, not so much given to campaign rah-rahing and excitement as some others.

Then, too, the polls show a drift back to the Republican fold of the negroes who were stampeded for Hylan last year. Nothing like the 1921 negro vote was ever recorded in this city. It went 55 per cent. for Hylan. The State campaign is another thing. The leaders in the districts where the negroes predominate are estimating that this vote will split even at last.

Smith Seen Falling Off.

Most surprising of all the canvasses is one taken by a syndicate of men in the financial district for betting purposes. That was a cold proposition, free from any suggestion of partisanship or personal preference; the facts were wanted for wagering substantial sums.

That poll is said to have shown a decided falling off in the Smith vote of 1918 and 1920. The drift from Smith to Miller and Miller to Smith is about equal as compared with last year; that is, those who voted for Miller two years ago and now say they will vote for Smith are about equal to those who voted for Smith two years ago and have swung to Miller this year. But the indications are, as far as shown in the figures, that Smith is not as strong as two years ago.

With the registration in New York far below last year and two years ago, Smith would have to increase his phenomenal vote of two years ago by at least 10 per cent. to break even here. Not even his most ardent admirer hopes for that.

Registration Equalized.

If Smith gets the 219,000 recorded the last time he ran it will be a political miracle in the face of all the odds. The drop in the registration figures is about the same in the Republican and Democratic districts. It is slightly more than the decrease up State, where it means a decided Republican loss.

Both sides evidently believe the contest is to be decided in New York by the last week of campaigning. The two candidates for Governor, the nominees on the State tickets and the heavy oratorical talent of both parties will all get into the fight here for the next six days.

Gov. Miller and his backers will try to hold down the Smith vote; Smith and the Democrats will try to stampede the city into exceeding its Democratic record. Mayor Hylan will try to repeat the 1921 performance by frightening the New York voters into the Democratic corral by dangling the eight cent fare and traction ring bogeyman before the public.

And the Attorney-General will continue his investigation into the registration frauds, which he describes as a public scandal.

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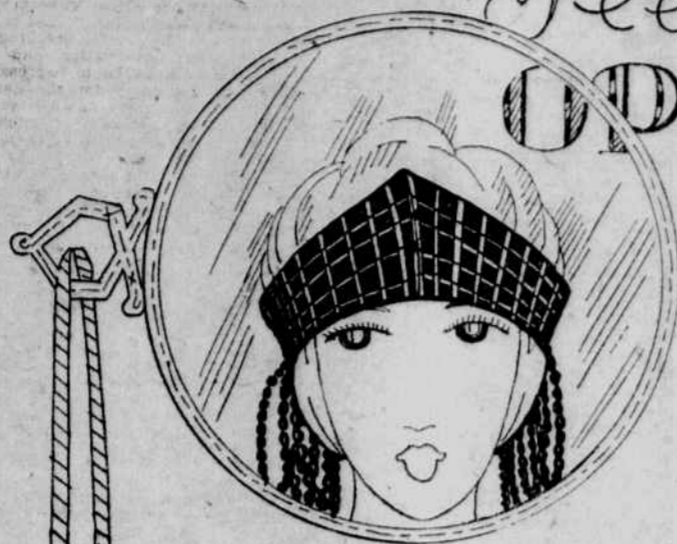
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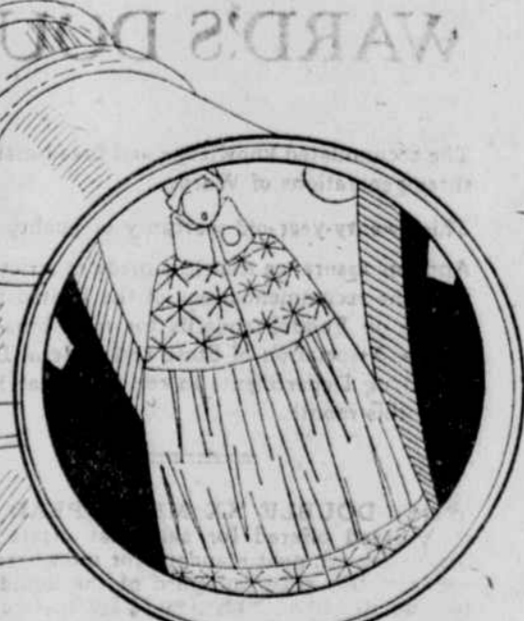
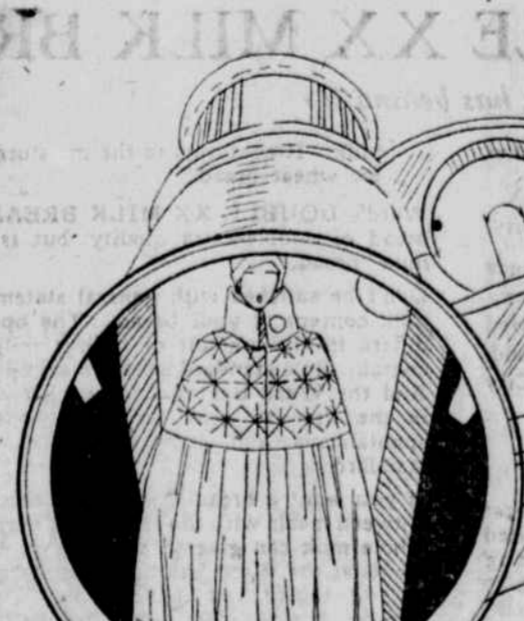
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